/87 cont./

890 public, without their being any stable domestic life between man and woman." He continues discoursing (misleading or misled) upon "the period of transition from the promiscuous horde to the clan" with polygyny and polygamy at will, arriving (after such a long road) at the family, "which perhaps was formed parallel" with the previously described plural forms.

190. It would be very lengthy and beside the point if we were to set out to investigate the development of human organization in general /88/ or, in particular, of the Caribe Indians, to which race the Pemón belong. Let us get to the point. And the point is that these literary deliriums, which are repugnant to the senses, are rejected both by prehistory and by modern ethnography. Both of these together tell us that at the beginning was and is the family, the biological, economic, and cultural unit, the basis of all other consociations. It is possible that many races do not develop beyond the family organization, but none of them comes down from this rung or from this minimum level, which is not reached after lengthy evolutions but which was the state in which mankind was constituted.

621 This is precisely the situation of the Pemón Indians. After several centuries (who knows how many), they do not go beyond the limits of the family with regard to organization, a consociation for obtaining food (and in general the mutual aid of the consorts) and raising children; that is, the preservation of the individuals and the perpetuation of the species. They are, therefore, a horde, not in the previously mentioned sense, but as a "group of families descending from a common trunk and who live in a specific territory."

621 191. The whole organization of the Indian captains or
● 622 tusaué, beginning with the name, is an exotic one, imposed by missionaries or explorers (commercial or scientific), who conceived of the life of the Indians as molded like our own. Among them there only exists the epurú, a generic word derived

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
● 622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
622 gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
578 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is
756 neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group. 98

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
622	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
		Total in Kamarata - 11	
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
		Total in Akanamuinta-12	
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo. 99	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-mota, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel. 99	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipún.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba?.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3	
Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4	
Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2	
		Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -	37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2	
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3	
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2	
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4	
		Total in Karao Valley -	11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2	
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3	
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2	
		Total others -	7
		Total men in central group -	78

The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

[99-101 see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

592 621 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 622 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called to⁹-esa⁹, but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the [621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its to⁹-esa⁹, and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most [578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the to⁹-esa⁹ is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as [183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 643 . It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no authority beyond the very local one of their respective to⁹-esa⁹. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal 643 group superior to the local autonomy of the to⁹-esa⁹. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point [191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a to⁹-esa⁹ over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree;
we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if
some to⁹-esa⁹, or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the
teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to⁹-epuru⁹), but their
chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in re-
cent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions
to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the
exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in to⁹-esa⁹, but yakon
is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase).
This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be
constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance,
be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[124] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio
Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed
that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact
of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "nec-
essary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically
makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an
old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which
time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change con-
tinues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the
probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several,
are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
●[122] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-
political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact
that he is ordinarily also a to⁹-esa⁹.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thorough-
ly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates
what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with
others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally
acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were diso-
beyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more
than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and t[illegible] that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekumas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekumas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[819] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuma tribe, since the Arekumas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[126] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[126] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to '-esa' of Uruyén.

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Fig. 88 – Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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